485 negara like the Staatshotel in Makassar. The food is not much either.

132 735 I get the impression that Ambon is several degrees more remote and out of touch with things in general than is true for Makassar. I can't buy much here, for example. And it is hot and muggy. This is end of the rainy season, which is in summer, as in the Philippine Islands. It still rains a bit. There is no question but that this place is poor. There are certainly lots of people, but what can be done? Things look pretty depressing in general.

115 I was met by Controleur de Swaart, from the Information Office, and by Rehatta and Gaspersz, two Ambonese civil servants. Then I met the new [redacted]epala daerah, Manuhutu (from Saparua, like Soumokil, the deputy prime minister of East Indonesia), and the Dutch assistant resident, Scheffer who has been in the Moluccas for a long time.

I got my jeep assembled in the government workshop.

I talked with the men who will be my introducers (Rehatta and Gaspersz), and did not do very much this day. I arranged to go to Waai, in Hitu, to attend a Christian wedding tomorrow.

361 General information and impressions picked up at first: This is a very small place, with hills, not mountains. The kampongs are rather large (larger in Hitu than Leitimor; those in the former seem to run from two thousand up). Formerly (Gaspersz says in Portuguese times, but probably later) these settlements were in the hills. Today nearly all of them have moved down to the coast. There are a few left in the mountains, for example Soyadiatas, five kilometers up from Ambon. The people remember old [789] kampong sites (kampong lama), and in notes that I have read they have certain magical ideas about them.

144 there is a high frequency of almost kinky hair.
● [115] Rehatta, for example, is almost like an American Negro, with a heavy face and kinky hair. He is also very small, though this is not usual. Gaspersz is much more Caucasian. Some of the people here look like Javanese and are quite Mongoloid but most of them are proto-mongoloid and Papuan, mixed. The family names, largely
[551] with Dutch first names (at least among the Christians), sound very Papuan.

181 The people here seem very energetic and friendly, but I understand they are very sensitive. I get the impression that it is not a good idea to talk about this large element of
142 Papuan blood. The women here (whom I consider much less handsome in general than the Javan, Makassarese, Buginese, Toradja, and other Indonesian women) have heavy features, and their figures are often dumpy. Some, however, are not
[563] bad. So far I have not noticed very many Indos.
177 This place was taken by the Portuguese in the early 1500's, and they remained here for much of that century. The story is that Francis Xavier was here. The Protestants deny this while the Catholics insist that it is so. For example, the new Catholic school here is called after him. There are many Portuguese words in the
[197] language here. The Dutch came in at the end of the 1500's. I talked about the Siwa, Lima, and Asa, but the men were not clear at all about these matters. It is the same old story.

197 The language here is Malay with a few differ-
195 ences in vocabulary. These local differences show similarities with the languages spoken on Ceram. These Ceram languages are dying out. Gaspersz says that a form of Ceram speech is heard all over in the old songs and that it is used in the adat ceremonies. And it is still used, especially by the elders, in some of the

000 details later.

565 There are strong traces of class differences
576 here. For example, Gaspersz and Rehatta and the Radja of Waai always talk about what "we" do as
[567] opposed to what the commoners do. They say there are no more slaves, but they do remember that certain families are turunan hamba [descended from slaves]. I must ask about this.

●[115] Gaspersz was formerly a radja of Naku, near the east coast of Leitimor. The old division of the folk into burgers and negori folk was abolished in 1923, says Gaspersz. I wonder. I noted at the wedding in Waai that Gaspersz and Rehatta and the Radja and his daughter and I were all treated a big shots with a definite display of respect. And when I asked about the couple, the Radja said that they were just common folk.

621 In regard to the general organization of the
631 local set-up, I have the negara and the daerah
614 information (including Ambon Island, Ceram, and Buru). Within the daerah there are the negori divisions, and within these latter there are sections called soa, each with a kepala soa. A radja or an orang kaya or patih rules over a negori. All of these posts are evidently not hereditary, but I get the idea that hereditary lines are held to somewhat.

423 Then there are the dati, which are branches of extended families or clans. The dati spread over several negori, and each has a name. The local branch is the dati, and it uses the clan name plus the forename of the local founder (e.g., Jacob A. Dati). The dati is the land-owning unit, though there are non-communal lands also.

608 There are three grades of the pela: blood
582 (evidently founded by drinking blood), betel, and
439 one other. People bound by the first type of pela may not intermarry, although there is a very

000 new material, I'm sure. Maybe even a marriage pattern will turn up to be based on these three kingdoms!

C 579 875 797 Information on Ceram: Rehatta knows plenty about Ceram as he has been all over it. He says it is safe to travel there now, but that before one would not dare to go into the interior without some military guard. Ambonese teachers are all over Ceram now and Christianity is advancing.

C 114 Rehatta says that the books, for example Stresemann's, are not precise as to the tribal affiliations on Ceram. He says that it would require two years to get it straight for all of the islands. They still tattoo in the west. He said that there are few pagans left in Piru, but that there are plenty of them in the interior. They still make and use tapa.

C [304] [171] [287]

A 286 178 In Ambon today there is no more weaving being done. But one hundred years ago they still wove pineapple and ramie fibers. Rehatta saw his great-grandmother weaving.

October 23, evening: I went to Gaspersz' house and sat on the beach along the bay in front of his house talking about the Japanese occupation and adat. He showed me a report that he wrote about the Japanese for the Dutch. He was evidently a kind of clandestine helper of Australia here. (I heard later that back in the old days he worked for the Germans in Rabaul. This I obtained from an ex-soldier at a wedding). The Japanese landed at Hitu and at another place in the beginning. The Australians held out for a while at Benteng, a military post suburb of Ambon. Then they surrendered (I think there were more than two thousand of them). They were put in a camp at the Tan Toei Chinese cocoanut plantation near Gaspersz' place (now a Dutch and Australian war cemetery there) and also in Gaspersz' land. They were taken to work at Laha and Liang air-

A 727 115 ●

[See bibliography, cat. 113 --Analyst]

727 dromes. Later most of them at the Liang airdrome
●115 died or were killed. [Gaspersz had a radio in the ground and he and the Australians listened in at night.] The Ambonese folk gave food secretly to the Australians. If they were caught helping in any way they were killed. One group of Australians escaped [with the help of one of Gaspersz' men.] They went from his place to Naku and thence by dug-out to New Guinea. The man who helped him escape returned and was killed. [Gaspersz helped an American Pfc., Rearich, to live. His help to an Australian officer caused the death of his son Dirk, but the Australian (I think McCrae, now a general, he says) never wrote him a word of thanks.] The Japanese cut down all of his cocoanut trees and many of his clove and fruit trees to make barriers against landing craft. One can still see the projecting posts in the water.

563 The Chinese Tan Toei is very rich. I met him
609 and noted how, as in other cases, the Ambonese are very polite to the Chinese. His plantation is a very large cocoanut area and is owned by
[423] him. This is evidently a special case, where a Chinese national owns land here.

582 (I told Gaspersz about the marriage systems
565 of the Timor area and asked if he had heard of
557 anything like that here. He said there was one case. The Radja families of Kayeli in Buru and a place in Saparua (I think Pulo) and a place in Ambon (I think Asilulu) exchange sons and daughters. Thus, if right, we have another three-way job. He said also that there is something like this between negori, but most of it has ceased today. He said that Radja families always intermarry, but that the tendency is to break away today and to marry into rich and not quite so
[827] high families. He said that too much inbreeding caused poor stock, and he could cite a number of cases.

185 on sago and that there is no need for clothing at all. Thus they could be self-sufficient. I pointed out that this was possible but that the G-string and sago type of culture would not be able to provide for schools, etc. That is why they need money from the western part of Indonesia to make East Indonesia anything except a peasant land. He agrees absolutely, and I get the idea that the constant stressing of the point that one can eat at least is a kind of whistling in the dark because they are so anxious about the future.

T & A

124 During the second week I got under way gradu-
●115 ally, but had to cut out this constant visiting, etc., which D. J. Gaspersz and C. Rehatta thought was good for me. I went to the two kampongs, Tulehu and Amahusu, a few times, and got the two assistants to start work. The one in Tulehu is Gani, the Radja's scribe and a very clever fellow. He works with me in the Radja's front pavilion, the Radja usually being present at the same time. The one in Amahusu is a construction boss, in building, road work, etc. I have not yet got his name. On further acquaintance he too becomes better and better. He too is serious and works very hard and steadily. It is notable how these fellows settle down to the schedule and whenever I come there they are ready with the tables and are working constantly. They understand most of the questions well. For the really old adat rules they have to ask the older men, and I notice that the two radjas, the Radja of Amahusu who is perhaps fifty-five years old and the Radja of Teluhu who is perhaps forty-five to fifty, know a lot about the old ways.

[622] The Radja in Amahusu is also kepala soa and
161 kepala dati. His rank, however, is only that of
621 orang kaya. The one in Tulehu is a real radja,

A

565 tell them so, although they and other people know
567 that they are so descended. Slaves were brought
551 here from all over by the Dutch and they are their descendants. Rehatta and the Radja, grinning, said that an invariable mark of turunan budak is their Dutch family name (not forename), e.g., Pieter, Jacob, etc. This is a revelation, and now I see the great significance of these Alfur family names. The Dutch names must be a bit of a stigma. If so, this is amazing, and probably very complicated. Because they were pets of the Dutch they must often have risen to high positions. I asked about Gaspersz. They
● [115] said at once that this was a Portuguese name, Gaspari, originally, and that the sz was added in accordance with Dutch usage. They said that Portuguese names were all right and do not indicate that one is a slave descendant. This is amazing and I must be careful with it.

(I found out, however, that some Dutch names do not mean descended from slaves.)

565 I asked about marriage between the classes and
582 they agreed that any interclass marriage was diffi-
684 cult and that a noble-slave marriage was very bad. This is especially so if a higher woman marries a lower man. This causes great shame. But there is evidently no adat law or real danger of killing on this account as there is in Celebes. Gaspersz said that in such a case it is better that the couple leaves Ambon. Intermarriage between an orang biasa and a slave is not so bad. The Radja said that he had once liked a pretty slave girl but that he would not have married her. He never told her why (this is evidently a really taboo subject except on the sly), but he just didn't. They agree that everyone knows about this.

623 When I asked about the kampong council, the
173 saniri, we talked a bit about the fact that the

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591 dies. Residence is entirely patrilocal.

Most of the emigrants who go away go into the
167 army. They are mainly bachelors. Almost always
621 they return, perhaps after twenty years, at which time they are pensioned. In all the Christian kampongs there is great love for the home negri, which is never forgotten. For example,
[794] in a drive for a new church (a common occurrence here) contributions were received from all over. In some cases hundreds of rupiah were received. On their return, those who have been away for a long time have no trouble in readjusting. They usually talk about the industries and factories and material development of other places such as Java. At least this is the main impression. Thus it appears that they are practical minded. Since no one is known to have gone out of Indonesia, the people here know relatively little about the United States, etc. The property left
[429] behind by those who emigrate is kept by the family, or if necessary by the negri which acts as a trustee. On their return they immediately resume all rights no matter how long they have been away. There is no resistance to anyone's leaving the kampong. It is known that they will return.

One can see a great difference in these re-
167 spects when comparing the same aspects of life
184 in the Mohammedan kampongs, where most of the emigrants go on ships to Singapore and abroad. There few of them return and they get to see more of the outside world. Most of the Christians, becoming soldiers, never leave Indonesia and are not tempted therefore to leave permanently. Also, there may be a stronger hold on the inhabitants of Christian kampongs in general. This is a beautiful contrast of situation.

123 In general, things are duller here than in
115

A

123 Tulehu, for me. This is largely because the
● 115 Radja of Tulehu is so enthusiastic and clever.
In fact, he is better than the assistant.

433 One thing which stands out more than others as a result of this type of discussion is the terrible lack of certain things in Ambon, for example, factories. This impressed all Ambonese who went to Java. There is not one factory of any kind in all Ambon.

231 I changed my tack a bit and asked why there
651 were no animals here except fowls. This is the
123 situation: there is one horse (I saw him grazing outside the hotel today; he belongs to the Dutch Economic Affairs man, Goldman); there are a few stringy steers; the Mayor's wife has two cows; there are a few ducks and geese. And there are lots of fowl. The answer was that some attempt had been made to bring in animals but that the government taxes them and if they are slaughtered one must get a permit which again involves payment. Thus the Dutch, as is the case with their salt monopoly, refuse to let the poor people have enough good food because they insist on taxing everything. (I remember the buffalo-killing tax in the Toradja country. It was paid at the death feast.) I made quite a speech about the good points of keeping pigs, how they eat anything, give much good meat, etc. Perhaps I did this largely because I would like to have some pork for a change. Anyway the Dutch are cruel in taxing food.

T

124 The Tulehu: The next day I carried on with the schedule. Radja was not here and thus we went a little faster.

423 The land question here is entirely different
621 from Amahusu. The twelve dati have their own sagó section. They are not divided into family

T

202 624 683 people to do the negri work, etc. They have a small gong which they beat while they go around making such announcements. The police inspector talked a lot and tried to explain that local politics are free unless anyone insults a party, a person, etc. It is evident that the old laws still hold here. And he approves of them. I said that in Holland, the United States, etc., the heart of politics is to freely insult one's opponents. He was nonplused. He talked a lot of nonsense. He heard that in Saparua, posters there are informing the people and telling them to get out from under the Dutch, referring to the latter as "tahi Belanda" (Dutch excrement). The policeman said that this was not nice and if they went too far they would have to take action as this was against the law that says one may not insult anyone!

A

186 668 In the afternoon, in Amahusu, my assistant said that the Ambonese feel themselves as Indonesians, that's all. I get the idea that youth here are very strong for RIS. Tonight I heard a lad at the front of the hotel singing "merdeka, tetap merdeka" (free, always free).

● 115 Amahusu: The name of my assistant is Johan Musila.

929 167 521 There is no evidence of an inferiority complex at the kampong level here. The thing which impresses my assistant, (and a man from Naku used the same word) is that returners say that the outside world is more advanced (madju) than Ambon.

There are returners whose stories get better as they are retold again and again. The locals spot this and depreciate such stories. Musila says it is hard to put much over on the local lads because they have been to school!

000 As far as I can see the relation between this

A In general one can say that except for the
361 mountain kampongs that are rather rarely inter-
311 spersed, the coastal kampongs run up into the hills until they meet extensions of the coastal kampongs coming from the other side. This is because both parts of Ambon are peninsulas. In the wider parts, especially on Hitu, there are evidently areas of waste and unclaimed land.

621 There is no cosmological or magical meaning involved in the social organization of the area.

443 There is no market system at all. This is evidently restricted to western Indonesia.

431 There is no gift exchange between villages,
608 not even in the pela relationship.

N

115 Naku: I had almost forgotten to mention that
124 Gaspersz (the D.J. stands for Daniel Joseph) had undertaken to get me an assistant in his kampong, Naku. He is the radja there. This man appeared at the hotel, wearing an army khaki jacket, white shorts, and a Dutch army straw hat. He is a tall fellow with his hair in a bob, good looking in a mixed Papuan, proto-Malayan way. His hair is rather wavy. I took a photograph of him and gave it to him. He was astonished that it was developed "in a minute" and took it back to show other people. He had walked perhaps twelve kilometers up over the mountains to get here and was walking back. He is a farmer and admits not having had much education. Nevertheless, he drew a beautiful map in colored crayons. He had also tried to answer the schedule, which Gaspersz had given him, but had left a lot of the questions blank.

361 Naku is inland from the southeast coast of
621 Leitimor and has no road going to it. It is in
778 Naku Bay and one can get there from here via a
614 road to Latuhalat, then taking a prau to Naku Bay and walking uphill one kilometer. Otherwise

N

624 had had the kapitan and malessi posts before.
614 He is doubtful on this.

217 In the house of the kapitan are kept the old
701 conch shells. This is true also of the old war
624 costumes and weapons and helmets, etc.

624 The officers are: radja (of real radja rank),
565 three kepala soa, eleven kepala dati, kapitan, mauëng, malessi, three marinyo (one from each soa), a kepala kewang and assistants varying in number.

623 The saniri is: radja, the three kepala soa, four of the kepala dati, the mauëng, two orang biasa who are elected, and a scribe. Thus there are twelve in all.

115 The name of the assistant is Joseph de Fretes.

I will go to Naku after I return from Ceram.

491 I took De Fretes as far as Kayuputih, up a
727 terrific road full of stones and very steep.
466 The jeep did it, although it was a struggle. From the top there was a magnificent view. There is plenty of settlement here. The assistant in Amahusu said that the Japanese hewed this road out as there were plenty of them in Soya. They forced the Indonesians to work under the death penalty. The people in the kampongs far off in
[482] the hills walk up and down easily carrying loads to and from Ambon.

167 I had a talk with Rehatta about Soya. He,
115 incidentally, went to Rabaul with a German captain in 1912, and in those days lots of Ambonese were taken by the Germans to work as clerks, etc. In fact, he says most of such employees in Rabaul were from Ambon. He went to school there, and then went all over New Guinea with Thurnwald. Then he worked for German companies and finally returned to Ambon in 1923. He is the son of the Radja of Soya.

000 Soya is a mountain kampong five kilometers

T

769 The ancestor cult survives and it is believed
775 that the ancestral spirits are really around in
778 the area and can be called upon when needed.
I asked if they knew what happened to the souls
182 after death and he said he really did not know.
As usual, except for the pagans, the people do
not know very much about the after-life. Then
there is the negri lama and the ancestors of
the negri who can be called upon there. There
must have been a great ancestor cult center here
in former times, and the cult keeps on fairly
well although it is under the guise of Mohamme-
danism. Note also the seven holy grave places
769 of the fam with the graves of the old ancestors.
778 There are the ancestors of the negri, but
614 they are really ancestors of the fam. Seven of
the twelve fam have the holy ancestral graves,
and there, as above, rituals are celebrated.
Those fam which do not have kramat are mostly
from the outside, although long ago. Maybe
they do have kramat for their ancestors located
somewhere else. This is indeed true of Moni
(Kottahatuhaha), which has a grave house over
the ancestral graves in Haruku at the negri of
Ruhumoni. The seven fam which have kramat are
the old ones from Amantawari and Eruwakang. The
other five are as follows: Moni from Haruku;
Lou from Amantawari, although they have forgotten
where the kramat is; and Wani, Tuni, and Pari,
all of these from somewhere else.

115 Note: Gani's full name is Abdul Gani Kotta-
hatuhaha.

192 Note: Everywhere here in Indonesia I hear
the word modern (with the Dutch pronunciation).
It has become a very popular Malay word. These
are "modern" times. The "modern" girls do so
and so, etc.

178 There is little specialized entertainment in
54

565 T
624 like a kepala soa. He is under the radja.
175 Neither of these men knows about the separate
425 Ambon kampongs, but they do know of one in
726 Saparua which is indeed separate in a way although it is under the radja of a negri. It was settled by people of various negri who got the land from the Dutch as a reward for betraying a negri on a hilltop which would not submit. The Dutch could not get up as the folk there kept throwing spears and stuff down on them. The betrayers led them up secret paths. The remnants fled to Ceram, and their land was given to the trait[illegible]

583 Th[illegible]ammedans can marry, unless it is a
851 case of tulung dati, only if the bride price is paid.

The Saparua man says that it is quite common for Christians to marry before the price is paid. If the price is never paid, one child must be given to the woman's family. This is known as anak harta. If the price is paid later on, all the children are considered as the father's, even ones born before the price was paid. With tulung dati the bride price is not paid by the Christians either, and the children are the mother's.

771 The Saparua man says that Mohammedanism works
182 with adat, and this is why adat is kept better
578 in Mohammedan negri. Christianity runs against adat and thus these negri lose out in terms of the old customs. He thinks, and I hear this so much, that the Christian church should work with adat too. It should keep the good things of the past. He says there is much friction with the zealots of the church. If I had the time I would like to get cases of this. I have one from Ambon, above.

115 N
142 Naku: I left Ambon on Monday, November 28,
501 [D.C., wiskmeester e radja of a negri in Saparua --Analyst]

[115] N
142
501 with Gaspersz's son Piet and went to Latuhalat, where I left the jeep with the Radja. Three men from Naku came and we went to the beach and got into an outrigger of rather large size. One of the men was related to my assistant in Naku, Joseph de Fretes, and the resemblance was striking. Later I saw that the Rani of Naku, the sister of Gaspersz, is a precise female copy of him. I think gene variability is much overrated, as there is so much similarity in families. Here it is especially striking as there is so much close intermarriage. The three men sat two in front and one in the rear, and they used the usual crosspiece paddles, one of them an inverted teardrop shape, the other shovel shape. The outrigger attachments all along here are O. They paddled steadily, with almost no rest, for two hours. How they can do such hard labor without effort is remarkable. We had the current with us and glided over a sea of glass, so we got there rapidly.

133 We passed small beaches on the way and finally
501 went into a small bay with a sandy beach, Labuan
778 Naku. It is truly picturesque here, with the green mountains behind and the beaches with cocoanut palms. Also there are great lime rocks with tunnels and undersea coral gardens. The water is most transparent. Many outriggers here are used for fishing. As we passed a certain rock half way into the bay, they stopped rowing for a minute and said that they must always do this [769] here because the rock is the petrified ancestral prau of the first Naku people. Above was a tree and they said that this was the mast. Neither had any resemblance to either. On the beach there were many praus (all are relatively new, because the Japanese took all of the old ones, as they did with everything else).